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## Special Analysis

### POLAND: Another Round to the Regime

*The suppression of the two-day strike by shipyard workers in Gdansk illustrates the almost insurmountable odds workers face in defying the government. They lack leaders and organization, and they are opposed by a regime able to inflict tough physical and economic punishment. The only serious threat to the government's control would be the rapid spread of strikes throughout the country. In that unlikely event, the authorities would cut off all communication and respond with increased repression.*

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The situation is dramatically different from that of two years ago, when the regime was forced to the negotiating table by strikes and strike threats. The workers are no longer confident they can win.

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Moreover, martial law shattered the impression that the government was weak and would not use force. In their dealings with Solidarity, the authorities have become convinced that concessions lead to increased demands.

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Under martial law, the Solidarity underground has had difficulty formulating a resistance program and creating a structure to rally activists and coordinate opposition activities. Its leaders have argued that a declining economy would prompt the regime to be conciliatory and that strikes and demonstrations could bring the authorities to the bargaining table. Neither assumption has been borne out.

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The martial law regime has stabilized the economy, although at a low level. It also has prevented mass worker participation in demonstrations or strikes by threatening the loss of jobs.

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In addition, many of the best organizers and activists were arrested in May and August following strikes and demonstrations. Since late August, the secret police have arrested the underground's principal communications expert and one of the senior leaders of its Temporary Coordinating Committee.

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There is mounting evidence that the secret police have penetrated the underground extensively. [redacted] reports, for example, that the man responsible for disseminating Temporary Coordinating Committee documents was working for the police. [redacted]

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The response by the committee to the banning of Solidarity--a call for demonstrations on 10 November--shows the disarray and hesitancy within that body. Underground leaders believe that they first have to concentrate on rebuilding union structures. As the current demonstrations indicate, however, some workers believe now is as good a time as any for a showdown. [redacted]

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### The Regime's Plan

In banning Solidarity, Premier Jaruzelski apparently believed that the trade union issue--including the dissolution of Solidarity--had to be resolved before lifting martial law. He may have calculated that, in view of the limited turnout at the end of August, the risks of banning Solidarity could be managed. If strikes and demonstrations in the next several months are no more serious than those so far this year, he is likely to abolish martial law by the end of the year. [redacted]

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Jaruzelski's goals, however, are unchanged. In the short term he wants to maintain central control, with or without the formal trappings of martial law. In the longer term he is committed to creating a strong and effective state apparatus by stripping the bureaucracy of incompetents. [redacted]

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The Premier supports economic reforms. He hopes to create "independent unions" that will represent workers' interests, within limits. Jaruzelski places much emphasis on the new Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth as a mass organization to rally the population around his program, apparently believing that the party will not be able to play this role. [redacted]

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Jaruzelski is not likely, however, to realize these goals. Despite his apparent confidence that time is on his side and that he can gradually wear down the will of the workers to resist, he has shown some frustration over the failure of his political initiatives to win public support. [redacted]

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The Soviet Perspective

Moscow appears relieved that the authorities in Poland finally have dealt decisively with Solidarity. Soviet media treatment of Jaruzelski's speech to the parliament last Saturday suggests confidence that the "independence" of future unions will be interpreted in a way acceptable to Moscow. It also recognizes that Polish trade unions will differ from the Soviet model. [ ]

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In the short run, Soviet attention will focus on the skill with which Polish authorities deal with protests against the new legislation. Although Moscow wants firmness, Soviet commentaries in recent weeks implicitly have warned that overreaction by the government could strengthen the opposition. [ ]

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For the longer term, the Soviets presumably doubt that the military regime will be able to eliminate the spirit of opposition among the workers and make them more cooperative and productive. Soviet commentators have acknowledged that solving these fundamental problems will be a long and difficult task. [ ]

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Outlook

The deep estrangement between a repressive regime and a frustrated and angry society probably will continue. More demonstrations could mark the second anniversary of the official registration of Solidarity on 10 November, Poland's prewar national day on 11 November, and the first anniversary of martial law on 13 December. [ ]

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Nevertheless, the regime's control is unlikely to be seriously eroded. The Solidarity underground will continue to face organizational problems, harassment by the secret police, and difficulty in rallying workers fearful of retribution. Martial law may be suspended, but the instruments of control will remain. [ ]

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